THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Europe in Ferment

Politics in liberated Europe seems still to be conducted on two levels, the governmental and the popular. Except for France, where the recent municipal elections clearly indicated the trend of popular opinion without, however, affecting government policy, the peoples of Europe have not as yet been consulted. Nevertheless, there are increasing signs that the post-resistance calm has been broken. In Italy, Colonel Ferruccio Parri, Action Party member and leader of the Northern underground, has assumed the premiership with the support of the entire Committee of National Liberation. The first resistance leader anywhere in Europe to assume power, Parri may be expected to take a strong stand vis-a-vis the Allied Control Commission, which has been charged with continued flirtation with monarchist and conservative circles.

The political crisis in Belgium, precipitated by the resignation of the Van Acker cabinet which refused to guarantee the safe home-coming of King Leopold, also suggests a resurgence of the resistance movement. Leopold's return, it is reported, would mean a triumph for the collaborators and possibly civil strife. The King, in not taking the advice of the cabinet to remain abroad, is violating Belgium's parliamentary constitution. His action suggests that he is anxious for personal government. But its effect may well be a strengthening of the country's democratic movement.

The Polish issue, finally, seems on the way toward settlement. While the procedure adopted—consultation and agreement between the Warsaw government and political leaders from inside and outside Poland under the auspices of the Big Three—may be from a practical point of view the only feasible one, it should be noted that neither group of representatives carries any definite recent mandate from the Polish people. Whatever solution is adopted at Moscow, it should be followed by genuine elections under international supervision.

New Try in India

The British have assumed the responsibility for making a fresh attempt to install self-government in India. For some time after the rejection of the Cripps proposal, they held the position that before anything more could be done, the Hindus and Moslems must agree. But Gandhi and Jinnah would not compromise, and no other leaders could do so in their stead. Meanwhile many Congress leaders remained under arrest for obstruction of the war. Now the British have released the prisoners, and have called together leading Indians to form a governing council, on the basis of representation specified in advance. It remains to be seen whether the Congress forces and the Moslem League will accept this ready-made compromise. The Cripps proposal is still held out as an ultimate solution —involving as it does either dominion status or independence, with certain treaties to safeguard mutual interest.

It may be assumed that this new move is one on which British labor has been consulted, rather than a campaign dodge of the Conservatives. Sir Stafford Cripps is himself one of the leaders of the Labor Party, and was the agent of the National Government in the previous attempt at settlement.

Ratify the Charter Now

We are glad to note that the Senate is reconsidering its plan to recess early in July and postpone action on

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the United Nations charter until fall. The charter is expected to be completed within a very few days, and President Truman plans to fly it back from San Francisco. We believe that it is of the utmost importance for the Senate to stay on the job and consider ratification without delay.

Senators by now are so familiar with the issues involved and the details of the proposed world security system that lengthy hearings on the charter should be unnecessary, and by fast work, they might still recess by mid-July with the job done. By sending President Truman to the coming Big Three meeting with ratification an accomplished fact, we can do much to convince the people of the world that there is no doubt about our participating in a world organization. Majority Leader Barkley and Minority Leader White both agree that the Senate should stay on the job, but many of their Washington-weary colleagues must still be persuaded.

World Trade and United States Tariffs

The Senate debate on extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act clearly illustrates, as Republican Senator Charles Tobey of New Hampshire said, that "the Republican Party hasn't learned much. . . . They want to go back to the old days of the Smoot-Hawley tariff. They're sighing for it; their tongues are hanging out for it." It also shows that American progressives still have a great deal to learn about lobbying.

Only a handful of Republicans have had the courage to break away from the party line and support the tariff-reduction-trade-agreements program. Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey deserves special credit for having changed his mind about supporting the Republican position and having publicly explained why he now favors the legislation.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

United We Hold, Divided—

Senator Tobey showed most unusual courage the other day when he called the hand of some of his Republican colleagues for submitting to the direction of lobbyists. Tobey charged from the floor that "a Republican leader" and "five fat lobbyists" sitting in a room just off the Senate floor were "buttonholing Senators and counting names and putting the screws on to get Senators to vote against this bill." He was referring to Senator Wherry of Nebraska and the "legislative representatives" of such interests as cattle, wool, glass, textiles and chemicals. Hard work by the "fat lobbyists" and too little interest from the general public explains why the Senate committee threw out the tariff-reduction provisions of the bill. The Pressure Boys still have their hearts—and their pocketbooks—in the tariff fight.

Extending Price Control

The present Price Control Act expires on June 30, and the usual pressures are being brought on Congress by the usual special-interest groups to prevent its renewal or to restrict its enforcement. The House Banking and Currency Committee was presented with three major amendments aimed at crippling the bill, all providing for price ceilings based on cost-plus-a-profit for every individual product. The effect of these amendments, if adopted, would be to make most prices go up and none go down. In addition the OPA would be required to revise its entire price schedule, in the course of which the entire price-control system would undoubtedly break down.

But the basic fight this time will probably be over extending the Act for another full year rather than only for a six-month period as the enemies of price control are urging. The substance of the National Association of Manufacturers' statement before the House Committee was that they want a "flexible" OPA in the period ahead, with price policies to assure a profit on low-volume output during reconversion. The best way they know to keep the OPA "flexible" is to hold a short-term death sentence over its head. Limiting renewal of the Price Control Act to six months would be an open invitation to the pressure groups to move in for the kill.

Surplus Disposal

The appointment of W. Stuart Symington of St. Louis to succeed former Senator Guy Gillette as chairman of the Surplus Property Board has brought about the first congressional investigation of the surplus-disposal program. Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, ever vigilant against the growth of industrial monopoly, has called the members of the board and their staff chiefs before the Military Affairs Subcommittee, which he heads, to answer some detailed questions. The ques-

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tions thus far have raised serious doubts about the fitness of Mr. Symington for the chairmanship of the SPB, but they have not yet probed as deeply into the operations of the SPB as we wish they would. Colonel Alfred Howse, executive director of the board and former assistant to General Somervell, should be sharply quizzed about the staff he has assembled to direct disposal of our $15 billion worth of war surpluses, either to prove or to set at rest the general fear in Washington that General Somervell's big-business commandos are now infiltrating the SPB as they did the WPB.

New Head for New School

Dr. Alvin Johnson, who has retired as Director of the New School for Social Research in New York, has during his incumbency succeeded in converting a hope and a somewhat inchoate idea into a substantial institution. At the beginning, the school was mainly an assemblage of vagrant and brilliant scholars who could not function happily in the restricted academic mold. Thorstein Veblen, James Harvey Robinson, and for a time Charles A. Beard, attracted adventurous minds. But since the school could not grant degrees or train people in an arduous scholarly routine, there was danger of its becoming little more than a super lecture platform.

Dr. Johnson carried on the tradition of offering a home to detached scholars by his sponsorship of the "University in Exile" at the school. But he has also organized serious research and teaching, so that now the school is recognized by the educational authorities and can grant degrees. We feel some pride—perhaps illegitimate—because a former editor of the *New Republic* proved himself capable of so arduous and practical an executive task. Dr. Bryn J. Hovde, Dr. Johnson's successor, apparently is well fitted for the post.

Academic Freedom

Suit for $40,000 was filed last week in the St. Louis County, Missouri, court by two teachers of suburban Normandy High School who were dismissed because they had joined the Normandy Federation of Teachers, AFL. The suit, seeking damages, reinstatement and salary reparations, was filed against the Normandy school board, school superintendent and high-school principal. It followed a series of public hearings at which residents of Normandy learned why academic freedom must hang its head in shame in their school district. The teachers, Charles Koerner, mathematics, and Leon L. Prost, auto-mechanics, were told that, despite teacher shortages, their services would not be needed after school ends this month. Koerner, a veteran of 15 years, had been considered one of Normandy's ablest faculty members. At the hearings, teachers and parents testified before the school board how Superintendent Fred B. Miller had intimidated union members and threatened to fire "the whole damned bunch of them." Miller told reporters he thought unions for teachers, lawyers, doctors or professionals were "silly." Testimony at the hearings also disclosed that Miller promised one union member a letter certifying permanent employment if he agreed to quit the union. Otherwise, Miller said, he would be fired. Parents and teachers asserted that the auto-mechanics course had never been so satisfactory as during the two years it was taught by Prost. AFL representatives, officers of the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee and other civic groups demanded that the school board reverse Miller's dismissals and investigate the superintendent's dictatorial, anti-union conduct and bias. The board, however, whitewashed its superintendent, although it admitted that he had opposed the union with "positive and, sometimes, violent language." The outcome of the suit will determine whether the victory won at one Normandy must be lost at another.

Military Review

The rather creepy stories that continue to come out of Europe about the Germans having vast stocks of a Green Ring gas, "deadlier than anything yet known," and V-2 rockets that were only six months away, tend to add up to an impression that we were awfully lucky to have won the war at all. Our forces doubtless had their share of good fortune, but so did the Germans (for instance, when they got such extraordinary results from the routine air raid on Bari); and the total result is to give our strategists inadequate credit for their conduct of the war. It also, quite incidentally and with the best motives in the world, falls in with the developing Nazi propaganda line that theirs was not a true military defeat, but a kind of accident which could have been prevented if Hitler had taken the advice of his generals; and for that reason it is worth examining.

That matter of the "deadliest" gas, for instance. Does anyone imagine that the men who maintained the camps at Belsen and Buchenwald were restrained by any treaties or considerations of humanity from using it? The story as it has come to us is incomplete. It includes no documentation on the quantity and character of the Allied preparations for gas warfare which rendered President Roosevelt's threat of reprisals so effective that, after one tentative experiment with gas against the Russians at the isthmus of Perekop, the Nazis gave up the idea altogether.

As to the six-month lag in the transatlantic rocket and the six-month delay in getting V-1 going, it is worth noting that all new weapons are inherently inefficient, and always six months behind. The opinion has been expressed by some generals that the Normandy invasion might have failed if the Germans had been able to fire V-1's at England by March or even

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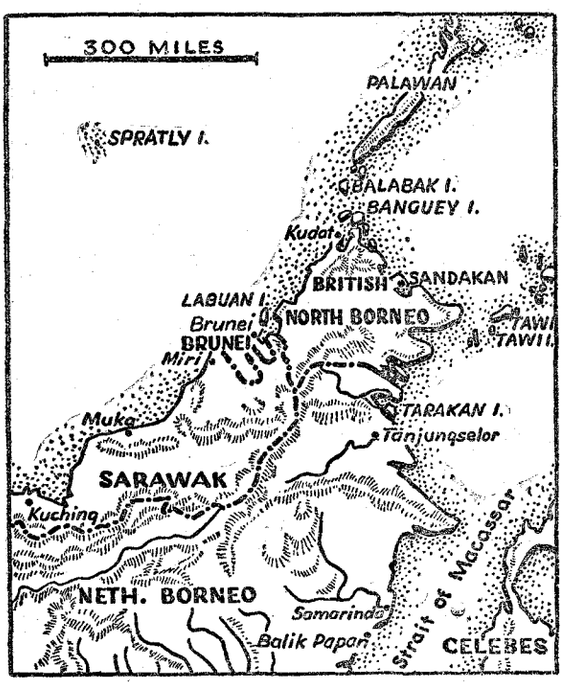
May; but surely the situation when the Allied armies stood along the Roer with the Germans pouring V-1's into their only port at Antwerp was quite as difficult as anything a pre-invasion bombardment of London could have created. The magnetic mine, the first of the secret weapons, came out in the early days of the war and, like all the rest, enjoyed a short period of intense success, but as far as any great results were concerned, that was six months late, too.

The point is that the Allied strategists decided early in the game to concentrate upon the production of known weapons and upon refinements in their tactical and strategic employment. It was a true military decision, involving risk—the risk that the Nazis really would come up with something that would change the course of the war. The Germans—the military, not Hitler—took the opposite road, and in trying to win the war with one blow, spent enough in time and effort to have achieved very considerable results along normal lines. They achieved some very spectacular and damaging results, but while they were achieving them, the Allied armies were winning victories in the field by "old-fashioned" means.

This is not to make a case for general military conservatism, but simply to observe that while a struggle is in progress, there is not usually time to work out the exceedingly complex details of integrating a major new weapon into the structure of combat. Even the rockets, which are our best "secret weapon," have yielded comparatively poor results on Iwo Jima and Okinawa, while the most effective weapon on both islands has been the flame-thrower, which was already old in 1917.

This may, of course, be due to the fact that in the Pacific war no rules hold good for long; every campaign is completely and basically novel, partly because of geography, partly because the Japanese are continually seeking new and tricky methods of defense. In the Upper Solomons a campaign of amphibian maneuver was necessary; in the Marshalls a crushing preliminary bombardment took care of everything. New Guinea has been a jungle campaign of small patrols; Okinawa and Iwo, straight siege warfare; Burma, a completely original operation of columns supplied exclusively by air. Quite a new type of war is now opening in Borneo for possession of the oil fields and ports. At Tarakan, where the Japs cannot get away, they have been going through the usual routine of last-ditch defense and suicide charges, but the lack of any but rear-guard actions at Brunei suggests they mean to retreat into the jungles and try a kind of tropical version of the fading defense used by the Russians. It will be interesting to see how General MacArthur meets the problem thus set before him, which could become exceedingly difficult. The Japanese program is essentially that of converting the whole interior of the island into a strongly armed area of barbarism and requiring from us constant heavy garrisons in the coastal areas if the oil fields are to be worked.



Return to the Indies

The two landings in Borneo, at Brunei on the northwest coast and Tarakan Island on the east, are technically the beginning of the reconquest, but actually they look forward less to the recovery of the island than to campaigns beyond the Philippines against the China coast and French possessions. The chief difficulty in such campaigns would be obtaining oil from the American side of the Pacific; with Brunei and Tarakan in production, this supply difficulty could be solved locally.

Now to Build the Peace

AFTER MANY ALARMS and hesitations, the charter of the international security organization at San Francisco seems about to be agreed upon by the delegates. It is a substantial achievement, on the whole better than the draft of Dumbarton Oaks. Constitution drafting is not an easy process, and the result is bound to be unsatisfactory to many. It necessarily involves compromises, vaguenesses and imperfections. The American union had to try the job twice before the states were able to make a go of it, and even the final document turned out to be something which had to be repeatedly amended and reinterpreted. The essential fact of any new constitution is not contained in its words, but in the resolution it symbolizes to live together and proceed with the constructive tasks of government.

On this account it is important that the charter be ratified, and with all reasonable speed. The United States has a particular obligation to do so, because it was this nation which bickered and attached reservations and finally declined to approve the handiwork of its President after the last war. Those Americans who

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are discouraged or annoyed by the difficulties which the Soviet Union has raised from time to time during the San Francisco conference should reflect upon how the behavior of their own government must have appeared to other nations twenty-five years ago. Let's get the job done this time, and not allow demands for an impossible perfection to wreck the whole undertaking.

When all this is said and done, however, it remains true that the peace is still to be built. The Security Council, with its reliance on the Big Five to forestall armed threats of aggression, is like a pontoon bridge thrown over a river so that the armed forces can make some headway and set about building a more enduring structure. It is essential as a first step. But alone it will never serve the purposes of victory, and if nothing of greater significance and solidity follows it, it will be swept away. The nations are still trembling from the assault which they have repelled; they have to feel some degree of security that the alliance they have formed to repel it will endure and will in case of need serve the same purpose again, before they can turn their attention to other matters. But it is these other matters which embody the real conditions of peace.

In the first place, the members of the Big Five, and especially the Big Three, have to learn how to live together during times when they are not welded by danger from hostile armies. Their officials and peoples will have to become accustomed to the fact that disagreements are bound to arise and that every disagreement need not imply the threat of appeal to arms. Some of the disagreements may strike deep; some may involve principles or policies which those in one nation or another may hold dear. But a middle ground must be developed between complete unanimity and unilateral action, backed by force. Let us have it out by arguments and compromise, without reaching for our guns at every period.

A good deal of tolerance for foolish and ill tempered behavior must be developed all around. At present we must hope that the Russians will have enough good sense and poise not to take the Hearst, Scripps-Howard and McCormick-Patterson press as a sample of the serious intentions of the American people. The British have had to take the same poison for a long time, and smile as they did so. Perhaps the British will quietly tip off the Russians to the fact that causes espoused by these trouble-making newspapers are almost invariably repudiated by the people of the United States.

With enough tolerance, understanding and good will, we can yet build an enduring peace. But that peace will not consist of super-policemen, necessary though police action sometime is. It will consist of the policies and agencies which knit the world together in its daily living. For this reason by far the greatest achievement at San Francisco is the charter of the Economic and Social Council. It will link together the various international organizations formed, or to be formed, to serve the world economy, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Labor Organization, the World Trade Board. These agencies deal with the sources of international friction. Their policies need coördination about the aim to produce rising levels of living, an expanding economy, full employment. It is in this field, rather than in the military or purely political, that a real and valued world government may be developed. People will not want to fight so often if they are not subject to depressions, economic isolation or unjust discrimination.

There is a theory that the present war was caused solely by the personal devil embodied in Germans and Japanese. The devil was there; he can appear in almost any human being and almost any nation, given appropriate circumstances. We must not forget on what circumstances he waxes great. It was not an accident that the great depression, originating in America in 1929, hit Germany harder than any other nation and that Hitler rose to power in the year after unemployment reached its peak.

And since the world government has not sovereign power to enforce its will (and can have no such power for years to come), domestic economic and social policy, especially in the great industrial nations, assumes a crucial role. It must be, in each, that policy which will benefit all. This is above all true for the United States, which economically towers so far above the rest of the world's national communities that its fortunes are decisive for others. If we suffer depression, we shall impoverish all, and drive others to attempt to isolate themselves from our infection. If we enjoy stability and high employment, they can solve their problems. Perhaps the greatest single pillar of the world peace which we hope to maintain would be a progressive and stable economic order in the United States.

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A Journal of Opinion

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The Voice of America

As we go to press with this issue of the New Republic, *Congress is threatening to liquidate the Office of War Information. The following article, though in part critical of OWI policies, reëmphasizes the need for the continuation of American propaganda activity in Germany and liberated Europe. If we abandon this job which, as the author points out, is vital to our own security, the British and Russians will have the field all to themselves. To give it up at this time would be to avoid our responsibility to make a democratic peace and would be a first step toward a new isolationism whose consequences could only be disastrous. President Truman's appeal to Congress to restore the entire OWI budget request of $42 million suggests that he recognizes the danger of a curtailment of our propaganda function in Europe.* – THE EDITORS

THE SHOOTING WAR in Europe may be over, but our efforts to cement the peace have just begun, and no little part of that campaign is the post V-E province of the Voice of America.[1] For the Germans, the Voice of America will have to retell Dr. Goebbels' story of the war. The Germans will have to be convinced that their armies were badly beaten, that they were fighting a war for tyranny, and that we mean business when we say they are not going to be given the chance to try it again.

Even more important will be to keep the Voice of America alive for the peoples of liberated Europe. We shall have to keep broadcasting to them even more extensively than we have been, if we expect to broaden the base of this country's efforts to work with other governments. If we don't keep in constant and effective touch with the peoples of Europe we may, unwittingly and without wanting to, knock out the underpinnings from whatever world organization evolves in San Francisco.

It isn't quite clear yet what the government intends to do by way of organizing information and propaganda in the American-occupied part of Germany. On May 10, Elmer Davis announced that the OWI would control with the greatest strictness all information and ideas for German consumption. He said all foreign newspapers, including American, would be barred for an indefinite period. He indicated that the policy would be to spoon-feed the Germans carefully synthesized information, when he said that "Germany is a sick man" and "can have only what the doctors prescribe." Five days later, President Truman substantially modified the policy announced by Davis. Truman said at a news conference that he agreed with General Eisenhower that there should be a free flow of news in Germany, limited only by military security. A statement to the press indicated that we will allow a limited free press in Germany "until the elimination of Nazi and militarist influence has been completed." It was further indicated that when the authorities feel such influence has been eradicated, the German press will be totally free. The apparent opposition in the views of Davis and the President is only a difference in degree. But it is clear that decisions are being made late and without adequate consultation among the proper authorities.

As far as can be ascertained at this time, a program for beaming the Voice of America to the other peoples of Europe hasn't even reached this stage of discussion. Right now, it looks as if the government is going to let the elaborate broadcasting set-up for Europe subside and ultimately lapse. On March 27, Davis said in London that the OWI intended to abandon the general news field in Europe. He was probably referring to the free news service which the OWI provided to European papers. Taken as an isolated move, returning freedom of activity to the press associations is a good thing. But the lack of a positive, over-all postwar radio program for Europe is alarming.

The abandonment of a major news and features broadcasting program for Europe is the result of two factors. First, Congress—the source of funds—is not yet sufficiently oriented to the position of the United States as a neighbor in the world community to be able to think beyond relations on a strictly governmental and foreign-office level. Second, the unresolved contradiction between propaganda and straight news reporting is still very much alive.

During the war, the Voice of America had several obligations to those countries, other than Germany, to which it broadcast. The Germans were doing their best to convince the people in occupied countries that there was no chance of deliverance, that there was nothing to do but give up resistance. The American radio had to carry a strong promise of ultimate liberation to those people, had to nurture their spirit of resistance. It had to report on the progress of the Allied armies. It had to report on the efforts of American troops and the American production front in behalf of the final victory. The American radio had to report the part the United States was playing in the common effort for a just and secure peace. But, more than anything else, the Voice of America had to be the Voice of Truthful and Complete Reporting. Other Allied senders were broadcasting to the same audience, among them our two major colleagues, the BBC and Radio Moscow. These other broadcasters by no means provided straight news. As it turned out, neither did we.

[1] The Voice of America is the identification of the OWI radio.

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The bulk of the Voice of America's programs were beamed to European listeners directly from transmitters in the Eastern United States. Reception of the American radio was therefore more difficult than reception of the BBC or Moscow. During the war, when every Allied broadcast was eagerly picked up, the disadvantage to us was probably a minor factor. Now that the war is over, and we will have to compete with the domestic radio as well as the easily received Moscow and BBC broadcasts, only a reputation as *the* source of reliable news reports will win us the European audience. What happened during the war years, in our broadcasting to other than enemy countries in Europe, is not water under the bridge. Broadcasting can be an effective instrument, in any campaign to achieve friendship for and trust in the United States.

Make no mistake about it. The Voice of America was heard. The OWI and the private broadcasting companies which operated under OWI control have ample evidence on hand through letters, and through means which still cannot be disclosed, that they were heard and considered very important. Granting that there was not the same mass audience that exists for radio here in the United States, it is nevertheless conservative to say that every actual listener carried the news by word of mouth and clandestine newspaper to hundreds of others.

The Voice of America broadcast 2,500 shows a week. A fourth of these were rebroadcast on conventional broadcast bands by relay stations in Britain, North Africa, Italy and Luxemburg. The OWI carefully tailored news of political developments. Some of the tailoring consisted of outright omission of certain stories. Others were watered down. A typical practice was to send out, by radio or cable, editorials from the American press which were edited to remove all but those portions which furthered the OWI "line."

Here are several examples of how OWI tailored the news.

Marshal Tito waited a long time for OWI recognition. The OWI, as will be seen, set great store by titles as an indication of recognition. Long after press dispatches were commonly referring to the Yugoslav leader as "Marshal Tito" and his forces as the "Yugoslav National Army of Liberation," the OWI called him "General Tito" or just plain "Tito" and his forces "partisans" or "patriots." Up to the very end of hostilities, the Voice of America did not report the encounters (or Tito's mention of them in his official communiqués) between the forces of Tito and the Chetniks of Mihailovich.

The Voice of America never broadcast Italian government complaints about the United States-British refusal to publish the armistice terms. Italian government statements on the lack of food supplies for liberated Italy were either played down or ignored.

In reporting the Greek crisis, the Voice of America told of official developments, but reported none of the considerable American reaction against the British policy. For that matter, the American reaction, even now, would be "news" to the Greeks, or other Europeans. When the Plastiras government fell recently, the OWI broadcast support for the regent, Damaskinos, and aired comment expressing confidence in the ability of the Greeks to establish normal political life. This despite the fact that the present government enjoys even less prestige than its predecessor and contains Royalist representation.

Everyone was calling General de Gaulle "head of the French Provisional Government," while the OWI continued to refer to him as "head of the French Committee of National Liberation." More recently, the OWI organized a short-lived (two-day) campaign expressing annoyance at de Gaulle when, after Yalta, he refused to meet with President Roosevelt and was generally stiff-necked toward the Big Three Crimean Charter. The campaign started five days after de Gaulle's refusal, during which time no adverse comment was allowed. The campaign ended abruptly after President Roosevelt, at a news conference, expressed the friendliest sentiments toward de Gaulle.

On May 3, Count Schwerin von Krosigk, Doenitz's Foreign Minister, broadcast over the German radio the flat prediction of a third world war, basing this on references to "bolshevism." Here was a delineation of the character of the Doenitz government right out of the horse's mouth. The OWI killed this story.

A final example deals with the Far East. And this points the way to the future. The OWI has ordered its picture-division caption writers, when handling pictures of Chinese communists, to "play down" the communist aspect. This is to be done by "use of such euphemisms as 'guerrilla movement' or 'Eighth Route Army' or 'Eighteenth Group Army,' which is the Central Government's name for it." As to use of materials culled from the Chinese domestic press, the OWI has directed its staff to use that which "shows interest in the effective prosecution of the Chinese war, which shows interest also in the development of democratic processes in China" and so on. Banned are items disparaging or showing hostility to Chiang Kai-shek, unfavorable to any of the United Nations, or items which take sides in the Chinese internal situation, specifically the Chungking-Yenan fight.

These are characteristic examples of the OWI's treatment of the news. There are numerous reasons for this. But the fact remains that the Voice of America presented a news picture distorted by suppression, editing to policy and undue highlighting of those news stories which served the OWI line.

The OWI is the handmaiden of the State Department. Weekly directives, based on the department's information and instructions, are the basis of the line.

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That is one source of the news distortion. Another source is the guessing on lower OWI levels as to what "State" would or would not want broadcast. Spot news coming in as unexpectedly and continuously as it does, the New York control desk of the OWI's overseas division is sometimes hard-pressed to figure out how this or that item would fit the general propaganda picture. As a result, the control desk itself in most routine matters attempts a decision on the basis of "If in doubt, don't use it!" Many good stories are thus held back, sometimes permanently and sometimes until the news is hours or even days late. This informal link between the OWI and the State Department also begets the numerous telephone calls which pass between New York and Washington, in which the control desk seeks guidance on specific stories.

The control desk gets the news via copy "processed" by the Basic News department, which is also the news source of all OWI newswriters and newscasters. Basic News gets its material from the wires of the AP, UP and INS. The press-association wires are not generally available to anyone else at the OWI. Basic News staff men rewrite the press-association wires, leaving out some stories, editing others down to innocuousness and passing on the rest pretty much as received. Thus, the news is delayed in the rewriting and resending over the inter-office teletype—and is watered down even before reaching control.

In addition to the systemic faults of the OWI are those which derive from inexperienced personnel on the various news and language desks. The OWI at peak activity employed more than five thousand people in its overseas branch alone. And the recruiting was done at a time when news desks throughout the country were taking on additional help to cover the war. In addition, the OWI had even greater difficulty in getting foreign-language staff men who were expert reporters and who were politically reliable. The OWI did not succeed in overcoming these difficulties entirely, with the result that many of its personnel were inexperienced and, in the case of the foreign sections, politically unreliable. The Polish section alone is outstanding for its representation of London Pole sympathizers, who were more than passive about their sentiments. The inexperienced and the unreliable were not in the majority, but there were enough of them to bog down the operation to an important degree.

These instances of the OWI's doctoring the news and the reasons for it indicate the need for a postwar realignment of the broadcasting set-up for Europe. But the OWI has an important place in such a set-up. It is because government broadcasting has a real and vital place in the postwar picture that it is necessary to examine past and present evidence of bungling.

In its wartime work in Europe and the Middle and Far East, the OWI has much on the credit side of the ledger. For example, when American forces went into Italy, right behind them were OWI teams with 330 hours of recorded broadcast material for dissemination through the Italian radio system. The broadcast platters included music, feature shows on the workings of the American government, broadcasts on public health, features on the American war effort and on the traditional friendship of the American and Italian people. The OWI did important work in supplying free or low-cost news and pictures to the foreign press. Pictures were both telephotoed and sent on special, cheap plastic plates ready for printing. This material was distributed through OWI outposts. As of April, 1944, only 16 newspapers had turned down the OWI's news service, against 237 papers which published nearly 15,000 OWI-supplied articles and 26,000 pictures. Other successful publishing activities of the OWI included technical papers on American science, industry and commerce; picture magazines dealing with the home front and the American soldier at war; agricultural and labor news round-ups and little items like native-tongue grammar books which were distributed among children in several countries. There were also motion pictures, traveling exhibits and many other projects. These were highly successful and, except for minor instances of trivial or inept subject matter, they carried a worth-while message.

In direct support of the fighting, OWI teams worked with the army's psychological-warfare branch, and conceived the pamphlets dropped by our air forces on enemy or enemy-occupied territory. Examples are the surrender certificates dropped on the Germans and the "I shall return" matchbooks dropped on the Philippines.

The OWI News and Features Bureau of the Overseas Division encompasses several sections, including radio, publications, basic news, cable-wireless, pictures and features. In the course of the European war, millions of words and millions of picture prints were sent through the air, by cable and wireless and by air mail, to the peoples of the United Nations in a sincere effort to tell the world what we were doing, how we felt about the issues of the war and how ready we were to coöperate in the effort to work out a secure peace. Immediate objectives were gained by this campaign. In a long-range sense—that of winning the trust of our audiences for American output—we still have a long way to go. The OWI, or the same agency under a peacetime name, should be part of the postwar effort.

The postwar role of the OWI should be that of the official government radio. There will be great interest in the official government view. The OWI can well devote itself to "selling" America. It can broadcast features on American life, put American government officials on the air to expound the views of the Administration and the State Department. But at the same time, private broadcasters must be allowed to regain

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control of their transmitters and to resume normal, uncensored and unhampered reporting of the news, guided by the same responsible standards of accuracy and fairness with which they present their network broadcasts here at home. Commercial broadcasting, other than that which features institutional advertising, should be permitted. Let the OWI continue to project Americana through its publications and let the plan for cultural interchanges be further expanded.

Such a system, in which a carefully delineated government radio operates side by side with private broadcasting stations, will give Europeans all the news and will make a permanent place for us as the best source of true information. Full reporting of the news will not damage our position, as the OWI appears to have feared. On the contrary, we will daily be broadcasting a story of democracy in action. And this will make friends for us. We need friends across the sea. Friendly peoples in Europe will help the State Department and the American people and will "implement" our efforts toward world peace far beyond the ability of a Voice of America with a "line." CHRISTOPHER LEWIS

The WRA Says "Thirty"

THE SPECTACLE of a federal agency voluntarily liquidating itself—actually struggling against some considerable opposition to get the job done—should present a refreshing and newsworthy contrast to the stereotype of "bureaucracy" which most Americans carry around in a convenient corner of their minds. This is precisely what the War Relocation Authority has been doing for nearly six months.

The WRA is working itself out of business because three years of experience in operating camps for a displaced fragment of the American population have convinced us that such camps are bad for the people living in them and bad for the United States. We have come to a deep-rooted conclusion that the sooner they are liquidated and forgotten, the better it will be for everyone concerned.

As to the tremendous problems of human displacement which war has created over broad areas of the world, I find myself hoping that the officials who are grappling with these problems will not turn too facilely to camps and subsidized shelters as the obvious and only solution. Our experience in the WRA has made it clear that camps are only a stop-gap solution at best and that they set in motion, almost immediately, subtle and insidious processes of institutionalization which are exceedingly hard to reverse. My advice to all future operators of camps for the temporarily homeless would be to have their plans for liquidation and for ultimate solution of the displacement problem well formulated and perhaps partially in operation even before the camps are fully constructed and the population is completely moved in.

As a matter of fact, this is exactly what we did in the WRA—although it was undoubtedly the result more of luck than of foresight. The last contingent of evacuated Japanese residents from the West Coast moved into our Jerome Relocation Center in Arkansas in early November of 1942. About a month before that time we had established procedures under which the evacuees could leave the centers and pick up again the threads of normal life. Before the year was out we had learned enough about camp life so that we made an outward movement from the centers the major goal of our program.

For more than two years we were handicapped in achieving this goal by the fact that the War Department's mass-exclusion orders prevented the evacuees (except for a few hundred who obtained special permits) from returning to their homes in the Pacific states. However, when these exclusion orders were lifted last December, we were for the first time in a position to move toward definite and final liquidation of our program. We quickly organized in the West Coast area a number of field offices similar to those which had previously been helping the evacuees to resettle in other parts of the country. And we set January 2, 1946—exactly one year after the revocation of the exclusion orders went into actual effect—as the deadline for operation of the relocation centers.

So far our advance predictions, made for budgetary purposes, have been pretty well borne out. We expected only a trickling movement out of the centers in the wintry months of January and February. And that was all we had. We anticipated something of an upsurge in March and were consequently somewhat disappointed by the continued slow movement. But the rate in April and May has slightly exceeded our expectations. As this is written, we are just about "on schedule."

One of the more surprising aspects of the movement to date has been its geographic trend. Of the more than 10,000 people who have left the centers since the first of the year, nearly 7,000 have chosen to resettle in states other than the three on the Pacific Coast where they used to live. I say this is surprising because we had expected that a least half of the evacuees moving out of the centers this spring would return to their former homes. I still believe, however, that the percentage of those returning to the Coast will increase in the months ahead and that by the end of the year we may have 35,000 or more of the 110,000 original evacuees back in their former locations.

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I make this prediction even though the forces of racism and nativism on the West Coast, particularly in the fertile agricultural valleys, are strenuously resisting the return movement. In its milder, and more legal, aspects this campaign includes such things as the adoption of hotly worded resolutions demanding, in effect, that the War Department orders of last December be swept aside and that all persons of Japanese descent be barred continuously from returning to their rightful homes. In its more sinister manifestations, the drive of the nativists takes the form of bullets singing into the home of returned evacuees in the small hours of the morning, threatening telephone calls and boycotts of evacuee-grown vegetables.

Already, however, there are signs that this campaign is weakening. Despite all the resolutions and the bullets and the threats, the evacuees *are* coming back, and in steadily increasing numbers. The people of good will on the West Coast are organizing to cope with the terrorism in their midst and are letting it be known that they will not tolerate a continued breakdown in the forces of law and order. Public-spirited citizens and newspapers in other sections of the country are demanding that the Pacific states bring this incipient Ku Kluxism under effective and permanent control.

But the battle is not yet won by any means. Among the tolerant and liberal-minded people of this country, there are many who find themselves mentally overwhelmed by the resettlement difficulties. They sincerely believe that the WRA is making a serious mistake in planning to close the centers by the end of the year. As an alternative, they advocate that a few should be kept open as a refuge in which the more insecure evacuees might remain as long as they wish.

There is a certain reasonableness about this proposal, yet those of us who have lived with the problem intimately these past three years know almost instinctively that it would be an irreparable mistake. Our experience has shown us that living in camps, cut off from the main currents of American life, does things to people. It saps the initiative, weakens the instincts of human dignity and freedom, creates doubts, misgivings and tensions. Even more important, the mere act of putting people in camps and *keeping* them there establishes precedents which are not healthy or hopeful for a democratic nation.

Fortunately the relocation centers have not been in existence long enough for the effects of their institutional patterns to become ineradicable. The centers *can* be liquidated, and their inhabitants *can* make the gradual transition back to self-reliance, normal home and family life, and full participation in an actively functioning democracy. But there is urgent need to clean the problem up within the next few months, while employment opportunities are still plentiful.

A decision made now to keep centers open beyond the end of the year would unquestionably break the momentum of relocation that has been steadily building. It would mean a full-scale retreat before the West Coast nativists—an ominous admission that the despicable methods of terror which they have been employing can produce the desired results. Once that pattern becomes fixed and accepted, its probable ultimate results are only too plain.

But the most urgent reason for closing the relocation centers this year is to avoid further institutionalization of the evacuees. Over the past three years we have watched some of these formerly enterprising, energetic people become steadily obsessed with feelings of helplessness, personal insecurity and inertia. We have seen their children growing up in this abnormal atmosphere and reaching out, almost pathetically, for the typical mores of American life in spite of all obstacles. And we have observed the heart-warming changes that take place in these same people and their children once they have made the plunge, faced the problems of personal adjustment and left the centers forever.

Nobody who has seen these three processes up close and who has thought at all deeply about them could doubt the wisdom—the absolute necessity—of closing the centers at the earliest practicable date.

DILLON S. MYER

Mexico in Wartime

THE GOOD-NEIGHBOR POLICY is a popular topic of conversation in Mexico. There is general agreement that the United States and Mexico have both benefited greatly from it during the difficult war years. Because of the good will that has been built up during the past decade, the government had pretty general popular support for entering the war on the side of the United Nations. To one who visited Mexico some years ago, the most striking change is that the threat of fascist domination, as expressed by the Sinarquista movement, has apparently disappeared. The power of the openly pro-fascist groups in Mexico seems to be no greater than that of similar groups in the United States today.

The United States has found in Mexico a powerful industrial ally. The joint Mexican-United States Commission for Economic Coöperation, established as a result of the conferences between Presidents Roosevelt and Manuel Avila Camacho in September, 1943, has done effective work in speeding up Mexico's war production. The work of this commission has already led to important developments in the steel and textile industries, in the electrification of the country and in the carrying out of irrigation projects. Its total program calls for expenditures of about $400 million by 1947. The commission finished its work in January of this year and was formally dissolved at that time.

There is much suffering in Mexico as a direct consequence of the war. Compared to 1938-39, the aver-

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age cost of living has risen 250 percent. Staple foods like maize and beans have shared in the inflationary rise of prices, and the most immediate effect of the war for the average poor family is that its buying power for foodstuffs is now only 40 percent of the 1938-39 level. The clothing situation is even worse; prices are 300 to 350 percent higher than the 1938-39 level. The direct result of this inflation is that today there is in Mexico more misery and more poverty than there has been at any time during the past 20 years. The suffering and privation are not limited to the lower classes. The middle class, especially the salaried workers, have not received appreciable pay increases, with the result that there is among them real privation as a direct consequence of the war. To aggravate the situation, there is a small group of war profiteers whose riches only serve to accentuate the plight of the lower and middle classes. Black markets in tires ($100 to $140 is the black-market price for an automobile tire), gasoline and milk are thriving. In Mexico anything can be had today—for a price.

The press has recently been very critical of Mexico's policy of continued close coöperation with the United States. Mexicans in all walks of life wonder if Mexico will have the opportunity to develop her industries, improve her agriculture and raise the average level of prosperity to a halfway decent mark. The problem which is uppermost is that of the postwar industrialization of the country. There are great hopes for the development of the nationalized petroleum industry after the war. The mining industry, with its tradition of foreign exploitation of resources, human as well as mineral, is watched with suspicion, but, by giving fair opportunities to the Mexican laborer and engineer, and to Mexican capital, mining can become a fountain of wealth both for Mexico and for foreign investors.

From what I have seen in the valley of Cholula, I judge that the Mexican farmer, aided by the Mexican government, will probably try to solve his problems through the formation of coöperatives. Collective farming may be the solution for other parts of the country, but where I have been, the Indian is too strongly attached to what he knows is *his* small lot to have any desire to be submerged in an impersonal collective farm. Also, the Indian is ready for coöperatives. In Tonanzintla, for example, the supply of irrigation water from the town well is distributed, without appreciable friction, on a coöperative basis. When the bus line from the observatory to the city of Puebla was begun, the clear-thinking Indian *mozos* at the observatory suggested forming a coöperative.

Before the war much of Mexico's farming was already being done on the *ejidos*, or coöperative farms. Mexican agriculture needs capital, and there is undoubtedly a great future for agricultural investment. Much of the farm equipment will probably be bought in the future through regional coöperatives. As part of the agricultural industrialization we shall certainly see the building and operation of fertilizer plants. The general plan for agricultural industrialization includes irrigation and electrification.

The United States has a unique opportunity to assist in putting across Mexico's program of modernization and expansion. Every Mexican with whom I have talked hopes that we shall give Mexico the prompt aid for which she will be asking in the postwar years. It will be to our own advantage to help her. There are great possibilities for investment and for the sale of machinery of all sorts. Also, from the industrialization should result an improved standard of living for the whole population. This will open markets for United States products. Sears, Roebuck's plans for immediate expansion in Mexico show that some United States firms realize the potentially great consumers' market that exists in Mexico today.

A survey of the future relations between the two countries would not be complete without noting some of the anti-United States forces that exist in Mexico today. It does not take a great knowledge of the place of the Catholic Church in Mexican life to realize that at present the Church in Mexico represents a strong anti-liberal, largely anti-United States force. During my stay in Mexico the current Catholic campaign against the Protestant missions was frequently used as a smoke screen to cover anti-United States and anti-Soviet propaganda. Under the presidency of Camacho the Church has been allowed to regain some of the power which it lost under Cárdenas.

Then there is the diplomatic factor. Our embassy in Mexico City is unfortunately not especially noted for the brilliance and liberalism of its personnel, from Ambassador Messersmith down to the multitudinous secretaries. A United States embassy which prefers to have little contact with leading Mexican liberals and labor leaders is not serving the best interests of the American people.

In the Mexico of today ideological considerations carry great weight. Mexico watches every step that is being taken by the Big Three toward the solution of the world's problems. The British intervention in Greece and President Roosevelt's temporary loss of memory about the Atlantic Charter had a very bad effect and were used to great advantage by the anti-United States press. The Crimea Conference, however, did much to help eradicate these bad impressions. Many other Latin American nations are understandably sensitive about our treatment of small nations. Mexico would promptly lose faith in our good-neighbor attitude if we were to be a partner to an imperialistic suppression of a small nation anywhere in the world. In turn, we can reap great benefits in Latin America from remaining the champion of the rights of small nations and of democracy throughout the world.

BART J. BOK

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Washington Notes

Domestic Matters

A GROUP of correspondents, wilted by Washington's suffocating heat and robed in seersuckers, called on Charles Ross, the President's press secretary, last week. Their plea was that if Mr. Truman is going to travel by plane from now on, then accompanying planes should be made available for them, too.

The incident was symbolic. World affairs are roaring along at such an airplane speed that correspondents should feel lucky just to stay within a couple of jumps of a given subject, let alone keeping it in plain sight.

Leaving war and European turmoil out of it, the matters straining for decision here in the next few days are so numerous that one can't do much more than enumerate them. I should expect the Johnson Act to be repealed, and the Bretton Woods agreement approved, opening the way for an intelligent world credit system. By the time this appears in print the Senate should have decided whether or not to accept the Taft-GOP motion to cut the heart out of the trade-agreements-extension program. Over in the House, the fate of the OPA hangs in the balance, while the condition of the OWI is just as acute. There is the poll-tax fight, and the FEPC fight, and half a dozen others. Newspapers, with space limitations and other things to think of, have just about given up trying to cover Congress. The Baltimore *Sun*, Washington *Post* and *PM* are doing the best job, I think, with the New York *Times* a rather poor fourth. Even so, the apathy on some of these subjects is breath-taking. It indicates something or other, maybe a national case of battle fatigue. Take the OPA Senate debate. All that was involved here was whether the price of shoes, clothes, eggs and everything else you eat, see or buy was going to skyrocket. One would think it was a pretty important matter. But the galleries were only partly full, generally only a handful of reporters were present, and the Senate debate was carried on in such a fog that it wound up with the passage of the unworkable Wherry amendment, supposed to aid the farmers but immediately repudiated, with alarmed cries of indignation, by the spokesmen of all three farm organizations. The House doubtless will strike it out. And after all, why worry. Nothing is involved here except the cost of things. Ho-hum.

The Republican Party, under energetic Herbert Brownell Jr., is out to raise another $750,000 and is appealing to the 22 million who voted for Dewey in 1944 and to "all other persons interested in returning control of the American government to the American people" to help raise the money. It is a heart-warming thing to think of the GOP returning control of the government to the people, only Herbert has got to keep his eye on that man Truman. The fact is, Truman is stealing all of Dewey's campaign issues. Here are major items on which Dewey laid stress in 1944, and what Truman has done about them: Dewey promised a younger, more vigorous cabinet (note Truman changes); Dewey promised greater Western representation (Truman has three cabinet members from west of the Mississippi for the first time in history); Dewey demanded government reorganization (Truman has recommended it to Congress); Dewey promised closer coöperation with Congress (Truman goes up in person every week or so); Dewey claimed the Hull tariff policy was really a "Republican" policy (Truman is pushing it hard—over the opposition of Congress Republicans who apparently never heard of the Dewey pledge); finally, the GOP platform pledged support for the FEPC while the Democratic platform was silent (Truman has made a strong statement for the FEPC). Take it all in all, Harry Truman has been out kidnaping most of the Dewey pledges. This doesn't mean, however, that the idea of "returning control of the American government to the American people" is a bad one. If Mr. Brownell would get rid of Knutson in the House, say, or Taft in the Senate, we wouldn't mind sending him a dollar or two ourselves.

It is hard not to believe that Mark Sullivan and other pundits have their tongues in their cheeks when they solemnly declare that the best way to get rid of the poll-tax evil is to "pass a constitutional amendment." It is hard not to believe that this is a disingenuous argument, and that those who advance it, know it. The plain fact is, of course, that in an instance of this sort, to amend the Constitution is impossible. To begin with, you need a two-thirds vote of both houses. You cannot even get a majority vote on the poll tax now because the Senate opponents filibuster against it. Then the Constitution calls for approval of three-fourths of the 48 states. That means 13 states can block it, and the Solid South could just about do the trick by itself. Now if Mark Sullivan and others would come out in favor of an easier method of amending the Constitution (say by legislative majority vote, as under the parliamentary system), we might get somewhere.

The House rider, voting each member an annual $2,500 bonus in expenses, has been passed. The sum is non-taxable, and retroactive to January 1. The Senate could not stomach the deal for itself, but approved the demand for the House. Mr. Truman has signed the bill, which is now law. Most people who look into the situation believe congressmen are underpaid. Mr. Truman first recommended increases to $15,000, or even $25,000, but he urged these as direct, forthright salary increases, not as a tax-exempt subterfuge. Even Mr. Truman, after he had thought about it, decided that $1,500 was enough of a jump for Congress at the present time, since it would come within the 15-percent range of the Little Steel formula. Of course a direct salary increase would be taxable, so that an additional $1,500 would be only worth about $1,200 to a congressman, who already gets $10,000.

What the House has done is to defy the Little Steel formula for itself, just when the issue comes up for millions of union workers. Furthermore, by making the expense bonus tax-exempt, it has shown that it is willing to pass our taxes to others, but dodges them itself. The whole thing weakens the hands of Congress in trying to hold the line against inflation.

Washington T. R. I

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Nazi Privacies

The Private Life of the Master Race, by Bertold Brecht, English version by Eric Russell Bentley. City College Auditorium, June 11, 1945.

TWO THINGS stand out concerning this venture at the City College Auditorium. One is that this play about the Nazi regime and the horrors to be registered against it is far above most theatre efforts in that direction. It does not mess up the situation with forcing and with sentimental, semi-pseudo appeal. It invents situations that are closely connected with our human life and then depicts the Nazi theory, training and method as affecting these human elements, as poisoning, distorting and falsifying our way of living and thinking and trusting. In this sense "The Private Life of the Master Race" is a civilized piece of theatre, and if read through in book form should be rightly impressive.

The other thing to be noted is that we have here a good case of the theatre's cruelty, irony, vanity, short-sightedness, its blind, self-centered process. By what reasoning and what intimate revelation, what purpose and what pious egotism, what self-projected optimism, could this group of people—could anybody who could see past his nose—have thought that an entertainment where almost all the speech was so unintelligible that Moses giving out the Ten Commandments would have been little but delicatessen as to its effect, and Jehovah himself would have seemed to refuse to learn his English—could get across to an audience? Worse than that, the directing of Mr. Berthold Viertel, hoping no doubt to drive the points home and the sounds into the farthest corners of the auditorium, banged the voices into a barking projection that was unpleasant in itself, regardless of the lost meaning. This was all cruel, because much of the play was worth-while and because such distinguished actors as Mr. Albert Basserman were taking part. Mr. Basserman, as we must all know from his Pope in Miss Barrymore's play, earlier in the season, and from his film performances, is an actor with a fine technique and a noble and beautiful mind, but what difference can that make in this latest effort, when he himself speaks none too distinctly and the lines he replies to are unintelligibly yapped by Frau Basserman? And that's that. All we can say is that a part of the magic of the theatre is that it is unpredictable, incredible and, as John Knox replied, when he was preaching against war and they told him what was said in the Old Testament about the matter, we can only say that these are very singular notions of Almighty God and not easily to be understood in our time.

In the midst of these short orders—which is what most of the speeches sounded like—vat mit vat und so forth—one talent in our native style stood splendidly out: Mr. Dwight Marfield. He played in the second scene of the first act the worker the Nazis were trying to trick into trouble, and later in the third act, scene two, played the dying man in whose heart, rebellious with death and its ultimate reality, the outrageousness of the Nazi tyranny over man's very soul was violent and unendurable. I have no proper information or records as to Mr. Marfield, and the program does not, as programs usually do, inform us as to his previous commitments, and so I will only say that both his portrayals in this present occasion show a real and gripping talent, and that producers like Arthur Hopkins, the Theatre Guild, Guthrie McClintic and others must be looking, and anxiously, for just such a talent. STARK YOUNG

Jackson Pollock

THE PAINTING of Jackson Pollock, which has been called untalented and likened to "baked macaroni" in *View* and to an "explosion in a shingle-mill" in the New York *Times*, has been, in at least three paintings I have seen, both masterful and miraculous. The three paintings include a wild abstraction twenty-six feet long, commissioned by Miss Peggy Guggenheim for the hallway of her home, and two gouache drawings being exhibited at Art of This Century. The mural is voluminously detailed with swirling line and form, painted spontaneously and seemingly without preliminary sketch, and is, I think, an almost incredible success. It is violent in its expression, endlessly fascinating in detail, without superficiality, and so well ordered that it composes the wall in a quiet, contained, buoyant way. Pollock's aim in painting seems to be to express feeling that ranges from pleasant enthusiasm through wildness to explosiveness, as purely and as well as possible. The mode is abstract or nearly so, one that stems from Miro and Picasso but is a step farther in abstraction. The style is very personal and, unlike that of many painters of this period, the individuality is in the way the medium is used rather than in the peculiarities of subject matter.

The dominant effects in Pollock's work arise from the expressionistic painting of emotion and from the uninhibited, two-dimensional composing of the surface, in which the artist seems to have started at one point with a color and continued over the painting without stopping, until it has been composed with that color. In the process great sections of the previous design may be painted out, or the design changed completely. The painting is laced with relaxed, graceful, swirling lines or violent ones, until the surface is patterned in whirling movement. In the best compositions these movements collide and repeat to project a continuing effect of virile, hectic action. The paint is jabbed on, splattered, painted in lava-like thicknesses and textures, scrabbled, made to look like smoke, bleeding, fire, and painted in great sweeping continuous lines. The painting is generally heavily detailed, and tries a great number of emphatic contrasts and horizontal movements in which a shape or a line will be improvised on and repeated in level, rhythmic steps and generally in a circular movement. One of the most characteristic notes is the way a shape is built out from the surface in great detail. The style is a rich, decorative kind that uses heavy, opaque color, extreme texturing and a broad, rounded list of colors. An extraordinary quality of Pollock's composing is the way he can continue a feeling with little deviation or loss of purity from one edge to the other of the most detailed design.

Pollock's painting often seems undramatic and too much on top of the surface, inert and mainly decorative, rather than painting whose surface actually seems to have been broken and worked into a continually living, deeply personal art. The linear part of the canvas is usually very dramatic (though some of the later work runs uninterestingly to pattern), but the spaces enclosed are, in later paintings, apt

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to be too similar, and are not a very active part of early paintings like "The She-Wolf." The color doesn't seem radiant, forceful or deep, though it always seems rich, fairly substantial and is used with great originality and daring. But there is little slightness in his work; it is really painted; it is thoroughly incautious, and in a period when it looks as if we are going to be drowned in charm, his painting generally backs up its charm.

Pollock's composing is consistently directed toward two-dimensional abstract design, and I think this kind of design is as unworked and rich in new art forms, devices and problems as naturalistic design is overworked to the point where nothing in it seems rich. Implicit in the change from naturalism to abstraction in painting is the change in attitude about surface: The surface is no longer considered as something to be designed into an approximation of a naturalistic, three-dimensional world, but, more realistically, is considered simply as flat, opaque and bounded. Pollock's work explores the possibilities and the character of horizontal design. He shows that each point of the surface in flat painting is capable of being made a major one and played for maximum effect, and that when the conflicting elements in three-dimensional painting are removed, the two-dimensional relationships are liberated and made more powerful and clear. His manner of building form and surface out rather than in has produced original, dramatic and decorative effects, and the painting as a whole demonstrates again that abstract art can be as voluptuous as Renaissance painting.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

FOOD SUPPLY MORE NOW
THAN IN PREWAR ERA
But Observer Sees Scarcity Until
Incomes Fall
– *Headline in the Washington Sunday* Star.

Kannenberg [Hitler's butler] who insisted on bringing out his accordion and singing and playing for us the tunes best loved by Hitler, revealed, for instance, that one of the favorites of the Führer in his lighter moods was "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?" – *Marguerite Higgins in the Paris Edition of the New York* Herald Tribune.

It [a valley in New Guinea] was a land of a fair degree of civilization, because the 50,000 to 100,000 natives living there had learned to make war, and lived in towns protected by walls. – *A Manila dispatch by Russell Brines to the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Brave New World

Not since the short-lived administration of Warren Harding has there been the prospect of team-work that exists today [with Truman as President]. With a peace treaty in the offing, that augurs well. – *From the* Wall Street Journal.

On the Home Front

It's so amusing to sit in one of those tall chairs in that gay little room—to look "earthward" and see the most glamorous things happening to one's lower limbs. Such soothing and smoothing as goes on—such relaxing massage—such rich creams, refreshing lotions. And all without one whit of effort on your part. And all—including our so effective Dawson wax application, Lord and Taylor pedicure, Nina "Stockings out of a Bottle," and your favorite polish shade to match your fingertips—all for just $5.00. – *A letter sent out by Lord and Taylor's beauty shop.*

Thunder on the Right

Representative Eugene Cox (D., Ga.) commented that "mournfully, I prophesy that the program of the Marxists will go forward to consummation if we keep on passing this type of legislation" [the veto of the poll tax].

Representative John E. Rankin (D., Miss.) asserted the House was taking "the first steps down the road to serfdom by going along with this Communistic attack on decent, democratic government."

"This move is aimed at destroying the Constitution," Rankin added. – *AP dispatch from Washington.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

More about the 27th Division

SIR: I am afraid that the reply of your military commentator to A. Conger Goodyear's letter about the 27th Infantry Division indicates a disturbing unfamiliarity on his part with the current history of our National Guard divisions. It is ridiculous to consider any infantry division, at this stage of the war, as a Guard division. The 27th was federalized well over four years ago, and has been overseas for considerably more than two years. I strongly doubt that more than a minute percentage of the original personnel of the 27th is still assigned to it. The infantry always takes the heaviest casualties of the ground forces, and the 27th—at Makin, Saipan and Okinawa—has been no exception to this inevitable rule. Furthermore, as any military commentator should be able to tell you, there are numerous non-casualty changes in the personnel of any outfit. Any National Guard officers with the 27th must be either extremely durable or extremely good.

Actually, every division, considered in terms of its fighting men, is pretty much like every other. Different divisions, of course, have different traditions, but nowadays most of them—especially in the front-line units—are made up of both officers and enlisted men trained by a replacement system. They have had identical preparation for battle in the United States, and are qualified to take their place in the roster of any fighting outfit.

As a matter of fact, aren't the 27th's supposed problems just possibly the result of circumstance? The 27th happens to be the Army division that has been most closely associated in combat operations with the Marines. When the Second Marine Division took Tarawa, the 27th took Makin, also in the Gilberts, and, having less aggressive publicity, got very little thanks for its pains. When the Marianas were invaded, the 27th went in alongside the Marines, again under over-all Marine command. It is a matter of record that the Commanding General of the 27th was relieved on Saipan by Lieutenant General Holland M. Smith, of the Marines, who for a long time had pretty much of a one-man hold on Pacific ground operations conducted under

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naval command. The 27th's commander was relieved, I seem to recall, largely because of a difference of opinion regarding tactics, and not because of incompetency. It is interesting to note in this connection that on Okinawa the ground warfare—though still under over-all Navy jurisdiction—is being conducted by General Buckner, an Army man, with General Smith conspicuously absent.

The Marines believe in taking heavy casualties; the Army tries to avoid them when possible. The Marines sometimes seem to measure their success by their losses; the Army does not. The Marines have managed to give many Americans the impression that, while the Army has carried the ball in Europe, they have been largely responsible for our land successes in the Pacific. This is simply not true. Only six Marine divisions are known to have been in action. They all have fought in the Pacific and, from Guadalcanal to Okinawa, have compiled a gallant record. The Army has also been fighting from Guadalcanal to Okinawa. There have been infantrymen—including those of the 27th—very much in action on Munda, Bougainville, Attu, Makin, Kwajalein, New Guinea, New Britain, Saipan, Guam, Angaur, Leyte, Luzon, Mindanao and other battlefields. Public announcement, sometimes lost in the backwash of Marine publicity, has already been made of the combat operations in the Pacific of the Americal, Sixth, Seventh, 24th, 25th, 27th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 37th, 38th, 40th, 41st, 43rd, 77th, 81st, 93rd and 96th Infantry Divisions, the First Cavalry Division, and the 11th Airborne Division. The 27th's record is a part of that long record, and it's a pretty good one.

If your military commentator doesn't think so, tell him to ask the Japs.

DOUGHBOY

Britain's Wartime Parliament

SIR: In an editorial in your issue of June 4 you say that if it had not been for the war, the present British Parliament would have come to an end at the end of seven years. This would have been true under the Septennial Act, but under the Parliament Act, 1911, the maximum duration of Parliament is five years, not seven. Had it not been for the war, therefore, the present British Parliament could not have lasted beyond 1940.

EUGENE FORSEY, Director of Research,
Ottawa, Can. The Canadian Congress of Labor

Hollywood Nonsense

SIR: I have read several reviews of "Salome, Where She Danced," including Manny Farber's [the *New Republic*, May 28], but none of the critics, from Right or Left of center, have commented upon the obviously anti-democratic implications of the film.

If there was ever a "*Horst Wessel Lied*" on celluloid, this is it—from the blonde Confederate beast who reforms, to the trite remarks of a gentleman from the Fourth Estate who bewails the fact that Reconstruction and post-Civil War conditions will be worse than the feudalistic society so strongly upheld by plantation aristocracy befo' de wah.

As a Southerner of that since disgraced tribe known as Aryan, I object to Hollywood or anyone else uncovering the old sores of a past conflict, unless we can treat the subject with dignity and intelligence. If Marse Robert Lee, like General Franco, wants to sell his country out for a handful of slaves, let the historians take him to task for such gentlemanly betrayal, but let us stop wrapping our second-rate Lotharios in the folds of the stars and bars to uphold the belief that all women belong in the maternity wards and the kitchens, and that human slavery adds to the dignity of nations.

"Salome, Where She Danced" has only one redeeming feature—Hollywood forgot to include its usual hat-in-hand Uncle Tom. The Negro in America, for once, received a square deal by being left out of the picture.

STAFF SERGEANT, AAF
Somewhere in the United States

Obstacles to World Peace

SIR: There will always be pessimists, I suppose, but if ever there was a period in the world's history which gave encouragement to pessimism, this is it. Personally I am doubtful of any great, lasting good coming out of the San Francisco Conference for the following main reasons:

1. The continuing activity and power in all countries of short-sighted politicians and big-business leaders who seek personal aggrandizement and/or national advantage over and above all considerations of world peace and security.

2. The seeming inability of liberals and progressives to yield anything or agree to compromises which would unify, solidify and strengthen them in a collective effort to build a program giving hope and expectancy of world peace and security.

3. The fact that so large a proportion of the people of the world are still dominated by priests and preachers and are seemingly unable to tear themselves loose from the hold of religious superstition inclines me to believe that the masses are too dumb to draw up a blueprint of a peaceful and secure world; and, if one is drawn up for them, they have not enough intelligence to follow it.

I am not a perfectionist. I would welcome almost any kind of beginning, but however well we start, I am doubtful about where it will end. I have not yet given up all hope and continue daily to look for more hopeful signs and indications.

Bridgeport, Conn. W. C. WEBER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The Reverend David S. Burgess of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian churches again writes to tell us of 500 farm workers' families threatened with eviction from a housing project in Missouri. The War Food Administration is about to turn the project over to the Farm Security Administration, under pressure from the Farm Bureau and local planters; and the FSA will be forced, under law, to liquidate it.

Mr. Burgess says: "The future of the Delmo Labor Homes Project . . . is now in the hands of the members of the House Committee on Agriculture and the Senate Committee on Agriculture. As never before, your letters are needed . . ." Senator William Langer of North Dakota has introduced a bill, S. 951, to save the project. In the House an identical bill, H.R. 3071, has been introduced by Representative Frank Hook of Michigan. *New Republic* readers are urged to aid the passage of the bills by writing to Senators Elmer Thomas, Frank Briggs and Forrest Donnell; and to Representatives John Flannagan and Orville Zimmerman. Representative Zimmerman, in particular—because the project is located in his district—is mentioned as key man of the House Committee on Agriculture.

A pamphlet, "How Lucky Is My Social Security Number?" sent us by the Research Department of the ILGWU, explains who gets social-security benefits, and when; and points to defects in our present social-security system which should be rectified. Copies may be obtained for 10 cents each at the ILGWU Educational Department, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, of Chicago, Illinois, writes to us about a projected biography of Lola Maverick Lloyd, "peace worker and feminist who was urging world federation many years ago." Anyone possessing letters, pictures, or special impressions of her is asked to send them to Mrs. O'Connor, c/o Campaign for World Government, 166 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

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Books in Review

Marx, Freud and Literature

NO VOICE IS WHOLLY LOST,[1] subtitled comprehensively "Writers and Thinkers in War and Peace," is an ambitious and troubling book. Harry Slochower has taken as his province all the important ideas of Western Europe—particularly those of German origin and of the last hundred years. He arranges them, rearranges them, judges them, isolates those which are "bad" in their tendencies, and joins all the rest into a grand Marxian-Freudian humanist synthesis, like the finale of a community masque by Percy Mackaye, with stern Necessity and joyful Freedom, attended by the Permanent Norms, leading a large caste of Animated Absolutes in a "symphony of voices"—to quote the final sentence of the book—"where each singer carries his individual tune and where each tune merges into the total melody."

Crammed with so many ideas (there are sometimes twenty to a page), *No Voice Is Wholly Lost* is as bewildering as it is rich, for it carries to a fantastic extreme an intellectual method dangerously prevalent in American critical writings and basically inconsistent, it seems to me, with what Slochower says he wants.

Slochower, like many before him, calls for a union of Marxism and Freudianism. In so far as the two are empirical sciences, exploring the same real world, this union is both possible and necessary. And for the study of culture it is *tremendously important*. Marxism has vastly deepened our understanding of history, but during the thirties, when it was given a painfully thorough trial, it proved inadequate in criticism of the arts. Though social in character, art derives many of its peculiar qualities and satisfactions from individual psychic processes which Marxism has largely ignored.

In its first period of influence, however, Freudianism, while completely concerned with psychic processes, was equally unsatisfactory. Where Marxists saw the arts as a reflection of social conditions, and as propaganda for a political or class interest, the Freudians, reducing art to daydreaming and sexual sublimation, saw it chiefly as an indication of the neuroses of the artist. For both Marxists and Freudians poor art could be as indicative as good. But in the past few years discussion of art in the psychological journals has mounted to a new stage, as in special articles like Harry B. Levey's thorough "Critique of the Theory of Sublimation" or W. R. D. Fairbairn's "Prolegomena to the Psychology of Art."

Art is now regarded, not as a symptom or substitute, but as a restitutive, creative process, mediating symbolically between the unconscious and the conscious, between the individual and the group, organizing and socializing emotional impulses, even of an originally anti-social character, bringing them into accord with those moral, formal, ideational demands loosely described as the Super-Ego. The laws of dynamic relationship within the psyche that Freud first formulated make analysis of this process possible, and since we understand more clearly what art is doing, we are better able to judge its success qualitatively in terms of art itself.

Obviously such an approach is not inconsistent with what is valuable in Marxism. Not only are the conscious elements in art and the circumstances of its production socially conditioned, but the individual and unconscious elements are also. Only the rigid Freudians and pan-sexualists oppose such a view. Antagonistic to comparative sociology and experimental verifications, they postulate fixed entities and developments within the psyche. Deriving their sociology by analogical projection from individual experience, they define mercantilism as "anal-erotic," make agriculture spring from "incestuous aggression" and see society as originating in a mythical "primitive horde." But these fictions are being broken down in basically Freudian studies in anthropology like Kardiner's *The Individual and His Society* and are being replaced by empirical observations in anthropology, sociology, psychology and psychosomatic medicine by men who are at the same time increasingly convinced of the value of Freud's discoveries.

This coöperation has the greatest importance for our understanding of the human mind, of politics, ideas and art. But it reveals such highly complex and variable relationships that anyone making use of this evidence in critical writing must proceed very slowly, with a full and specific knowledge of what he is talking about, and with a consistent use of terms with observable referents, clearly defined. Although this is commonplace advice to students, it is exactly what one does not find in much brilliant critical writing which results from another kind of union of Marx and Freud, the kind to be found in *No Voice Is Wholly Lost*.

Both Freud and Marx mixed their science with German metaphysics, setting up dialectic, speculative world-views, hypostatizing abstractions, extending principles into areas where they did not hold and religiously defending their doctrines from heretics and revisionists. On this level the two movements are completely incompatible. But it is on this level that they have the greatest charm for intellectuals. During three periods, first of Freudianism, then of Marxism, then of "depth-psychology" again, with Kierkegaardian or Augustianian overtones, we were taught the charms of dogmatic, unqualified and unsupported assertion, of discovering, with the use of dialectic, the most tremendous and ambiguous significance in every detail, and of the ability to "unmask" humiliatingly the ideologies of those who denied such significance.

This is tolerable when it has inner consistency. But in the present period of eclecticism, when there are very few thoroughgoing Marxists or Freudians, these intellectual habits have been so extended that the critic uses, in dazzling succession, whatever frames of reference will give the most unlikely or fashionable meaning to the particulars under discussion. *No Voice Is Wholly Lost* is a fascinating ex-

[1] No Voice Is Wholly Lost, by Harry Slochower. New York: Creative Age Press. 404 pages. $3.75.

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ample. Why did Ch'en plan to kill Chiang Kai-shek in *Man's Fate*? "It is," Slochower tells us, "the 'completion' of his masochistic Eros straining toward Thanatos." Now what does this mean in Marxist terms? What does it mean even in Freudian terms? In Freudian mythology Eros and Thanatos are "immortal adversaries." How then does a masochistic Eros complete itself in Thanatos? What is the nature of these concepts? Are they any more than a way of saying that under certain conditions men are unconsciously impelled to seek their own deaths? What are these conditions? And what are the rules for "psyching" a character in fiction?

If one really wanted to unite Marxism and Freudianism and relate them to the real world of history and individual experience, one would have to ask such questions of half the sentences in this book. But there would be no point in doing so, for the answers would not come. Slochower just happened to think of Eros and Thanatos on that occasion. In his analysis of *The Grapes of Wrath*, Eros and Thanatos get no play at all, not being worshiped, apparently, in Oklahoma. A quite different vocabulary is used for the characters. "Casey is the dialectical ethical element in the world of neutral matter." Ma represents the "spirit of stasis." The only sexual reference is to Rose of Sharon's suckling of the old man. "Her act amounts to an immaculate conception—on a social plane, in which the unknown man becomes the 'collective' substitute for her departed husband and child."

The terms in which writers and thinkers are judged are equally arbitrary. "Our age is not alone that of Spengler, Heidegger, Eddington and Céline," Slochower says grandly in his introduction. "It is also the age of Einstein and Freud, of Steinbeck, Malraux and Thomas Mann." The last five are his heroes. Why did he choose those particular first four, of all the people it is an "age of," to be his villains? When we look up Eddington elsewhere in the volume, thinking him a strange companion for Céline, we find the brief statement that along with Henry Adams, Eddington, by his entropy physics, "gave a kind of intellectual rationale for the lethargy and disillusionment of the war generation." Is this what is wrong also with Heidegger, whom we might expect to find linked with Kierkegaard and Kafka? No, he is mentioned briefly along with Bergson, Nietzsche, Schelling and others, as giving too little attention to the "social concomitants" of that "metaphysical alienation" which Hegel placed "in the center of his system." Although the little-known Heidegger is thus emphasized, his *Sorge* is explained neither in Heidegger's own terms nor in terms of Marx and Freud.

What Slochower does is to describe ideas in a wonderful jargon drawn impartially from many conceptual schemes, and then to classify the ideas as good or bad according as they do, or do not, support a "substantive" philosophy and a "communal" personality. Nietzsche, one of his heroes, in whose "complex thought lie the roots for almost every significant current of our time," was a realistic humanist, while Hemingway is a critical humanist. André Gide and John Dos Passos stand for Absolute Doubt; Céline and Thomas Wolfe, for Cosmic Exile; Rilke, for Democratic Transcendence. For Thomas Mann, of whose work Slochower is semi-official interpreter, he has, of course, unqualified admiration. His chief attacks are on the fascists, the "relativists" and John Dewey.

The relativists turn out to include those very people who

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have been trying to give Freudianism the kind of scientific, social, empirical basis on which it could be united with Marxism. Slochower accuses Karen Horney, for instance, of relativism and of slighting Freud's "substantive" approach. And he wants to preserve the absolutist, idealist elements in Marxism also, to keep its Hegelianism right side up. Marxist absolutism, he says, saves it from relativism. "Its ultimate objectives are ideal values, with the materialistic analysis serving as a lever necessary for their attainment. . . . The critical temper in Marxism postulates the transcendence of social determinants."

No Voice Is Wholly Lost is full of the frictional electricity of ideas. Slochower has a wide knowledge of modern thought, though some of it is gained, one would guess, at second-hand, and his book includes some valuably informative sections like that on the novelists of the Third Reich. But the important thing about this book is the implication of its intellectual method, a method shared by much writing in the quarterly reviews. This is clearly a time when it is desperately important for us to use intelligently our tremendously increased knowledge of the real world, and particularly of the human psyche. A great deal of exciting work needs to be done in unifying and absorbing this knowledge culturally, an opportunity American philosophic naturalism has not yet seized, to judge by the recent symposium, *Naturalism and the Human Spirit.*

But this is also a time when, for obvious historical reasons, absolutism, mysticism and supernaturalism are resurgent. They have their real meaning, of course. But I think we have a right to scrutinize rather critically the way, as in *No Voice Is Wholly Lost*, they take over materialism, rationality and science, in order to turn them into their opposites, and I think we have a right, in this eclectic period of such opportunity and danger, to demand of all schools that minimum of logic, consistency, semantic clarity and shared fields of reference which makes intellectual discourse possible at all.

ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS

Japan's Future

The Future of Japan, by William C. Johnstone. New York: The Oxford University Press. 172 pages. $2.

THE MELANCHOLY FACT is that if the Japanese were to surrender unconditionally tomorrow everyone would be terribly embarrassed. Allied plans for the treatment of defeated Germany may still show great signs of confusion, but they are completed and in good working order compared to the uncertainty and lack of purpose that obscure our intentions toward postwar Japan. This in itself would be a matter of grave concern to the growing number of Americans who recognize that the future of Asia, more than any other of the world's problems, holds the answer to whether the coming generation is to live in peace or destroy itself in war. What is even more upsetting, though, is the impression that the few plans which have been contemplated by both American and British policy-makers lie in the direction of salvaging the presumably more respectable elements of the same oligarchy that brought about the Asiatic phase of the war in the first place.

Because it contains so much calm, objective and intelligent thinking on a subject of vital importance, William C. Johnstone's short book, *The Future of Japan*, deserves more attention than its quiet manner is likely to attract. In the most unruffled fashion, the author sets down all the aspects presently conceivable of the aftermath of Japan's downfall, considers the problems that must be faced, describes the various solutions proposed and gives in concrete form his own specific suggestions. In brief, it is his belief that we must not only disarm our enemy completely and make it physically impossible for him to resume his aggression, but also go on to assist him, after he has been properly chastened, to build a peaceful democratic nation. It certainly is not a simple problem, but it can and must be done and Mr Johnstone's basis for doing the job is a practical one.

Even after crushing defeat, Japan will have a population of some seventy millions. Her people are vigorous and resourceful. It is clear that, despite the destruction of their war machine and the most stringent steps to make its rebuilding difficult, the Japanese will continue to be a menace to peace until they have been brought to think and act in a manner diametrically opposed to that in which they have so long been indoctrinated by their rulers. It is a matter of changing their methods of thought into democratic and progressive channels. It is a task of tremendous difficulty, but it is not impossible. The fine quality, the steadfastness and the loyalty to America of our Nisei soldiers, despite great provocation, is one convincing proof of the way in which the Japanese can be turned into good, useful citizens of a democracy. The work of such Japanese as Okano in Yenan and Kaji in Chungking among Nipponese prisoners is another.

Our mistake has always been that we have invariably picked out the wrong type of Japanese as the hope of the land. Our State Department officials, notoriously Undersecretary Grew, have blithely pinned their faith on big businessmen, aristocrats, elder statesmen and the Emperor, just the ones who profited most from the cruder schemes of the militarists. It is the common man, the liberal, the humbler intellectuals, who have less to lose through military defeat and more to gain from a democratic Japan, and unless they are made the backbone of the new nation we are going to be as unsuccessful in the future as we have been in the past in winning peace in East Asia. It still seems to be the conviction of our policy-makers that we must save the Emperor and stabilize the social order, although any stabilization in Japan that is based on the shabby little central figure about whom Asiatic militarism gravitates and not on popular democracy is doomed to failure, if we really have long-range peace in mind.

Mr. Johnstone realizes this and the way he sets it down is all the more convincing because of his detached and unemotional manner. It is not part of his plan, however, to discuss how seriously current American State Department policy stands in the way of the sort of solution in Japan necessary to a postwar democratic world, and I regret that he has not done so. For it seems increasingly evident that Mr. Grew and Eugene Dooman and the rest of the Japan conscious experts in the department have at least one objective in mind in regard to the Nipponese future, no matter how undecided Americans in general are about it. They firmly believe that after Japan's defeat a safe, sane and respectable regime of law and order must be maintained in the land and that there must be no truck with revolution-

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violence. This means we shall prop up in power some comparatively unsullied members of the old gang and frown upon any popular uprising against them. Then when there is Communist-backed resentment, we shall wonder why those terrible Bolsheviks are always making trouble.

It might likewise seem evident that one of the best ways to bring about a democratic Japan would be to see that democracy worked in a unified, progressive China. This would give the entire democratic concept the greatest prestige it has known throughout the Far East and would be particularly impressive to the Japanese, who are by no means blind to the cultural heritage they have received from the Chinese. Instead our policy is proving a handicap to the establishment of a progressive coalition government in China, rather than the help it could be. In fact, in our State Department's determination to support the reactionary Kuomintang, it is now going in for terrorism against journalists and officials who dare to oppose it. As usual, we are letting the progressive causes in the East go to the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists by default.

The Future of Japan does not examine these aspects of the situation, but to anyone who follows even in the daily press the course of Far Eastern political affairs, they are present by implication. Mr. Johnstone has many points to make, and the most important is that only a democratic Japan will be a truly safe Japan after the chastening that will come with military defeat. Our support of moribund reactionary forces in the Far East is the greatest danger to a happy solution of the Japanese problem.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

An Ancient Profession

Farewell My Heart, by Ferenc Molnar. Translated by Elinor Rice. New York: Simon and Schuster. 211 pages. $2. The Inquest, by Robert Neumann. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 255 pages. $2.50.

THERE IS ALWAYS a certain amount of pleasure to be found in the work of a professional writer, but the academic and the intellectual have been quite right in insisting that a sharply defined line exists between a Marquand and a Dos Passos, a Maugham and a Huxley, a Molnar and a Robert Neumann—to bracket examples that are not hopelessly unfair to what might be called the businessman of letters as compared with the artist.

This short novel by the veteran Hungarian playwright who now lives in New York serves to illuminate, at least by contrast, the virtues of Neumann's longer and more impressive work. Molnar's central characters are a middle-aged Hungarian Jewish journalist and a twenty-one-year-old dancer from a shabby Budapest night club who meet in Italy on the first New Year's Eve of the war and fall instantly in love. By the kind of coincidence that happens too often in *Farewell My Heart* they are both sailing to New York on the *Rex*. In New York the journalist has a heart attack and the girl nurses him until they are warned by his doctor that unless they separate he will die. Out of her great love for him (the Danubian irony is operating again) the girl goes off to Hollywood, where she loses her virginity and her looks only to find that the town is full of better dancers than she can ever hope to be.

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Recovered, the journalist marries, but inevitably the girl returns, and with the fatalism of passion they are brought to bed—which, with some immoderate drinking, succeeds in killing the hero. (Aldous Huxley employed the same means to kill off Uncle Eustace in *Time Must Have a Stop.*) Every synopsis is unfair, even to so contrived a story as Molnar's, and it must be admitted that until the exigencies of the plot overwhelm this slight book there are some moving and true passages between the hopelessly disparate lovers.

Robert Neumann, a Viennese who has lived in England for several years and now writes in the language of his adopted country, has also chosen for his central characters a middle-aged writer and a young woman who is fatally attractive to men. Shilling, an English novelist of some fame, is awakened in his London flat one morning by the police to be told that the woman with whom he has spent most of the previous night has been found dead in her gas-filled room. Although he had seen the girl on only one other occasion, Shilling spends the two days between the news of her death and the inquest in ferreting out her past. Unlike Molnar's "psychological love story" which just happens to take place against the background of fascism, exile and war, Neumann's novel is one of the deepest fictional evocations of the tragedy of our time.

It is perhaps fortuitous that Bibiana Santis in her brief life had experienced consecutively the fascism of her native Italy, Germany, Spain, and ultimately that of the Britain which in 1939 interned the "premature" anti-fascists who had escaped to her supposedly democratic shores. There are still too many of the dovetails and tie-ins of "professional" writing in *The Inquest* for comfort, but there is also that genuineness of approach to character, to narrative and above all to ideas, that lifts Neumann's book to a plane that the Maughams, the Marquands and the Molnars reach only inadvertently.

By the rather worn devices of killing off one of his major characters in the second chapter and the telescoping of the lives of several fairly complex characters into forty-eight hours, Neumann has laid for himself all the traps of the superior magazine story. (It is amusing that more than one daily reviewer has lumped these *devices* with the author's use of Joycean mock-cosmic catalogues and the interior monologue, with the result that *The Inquest* emerges as avant-garde experimentalism.) Neumann has no more fully absorbed the influences of his acquired facility with the English language than he has shed the tricks of that professionalism which is widespread but which seemed to find its focus in his native central Europe. The author of *The Inquest* still faces two ways. He can take the road of the Schnitzlers, the Zweigs, the Werfels, the Molnars. Or he can write his own ticket.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

In forthcoming issues of the New Republic:

Jerome Frank's *Fate and Freedom* will be reviewed by Walton Hamilton; Malcolm Cowley will review *The War Poets*, edited by Oscar Williams; Conrad Aiken will discuss the "new" poems of Emily Dickinson; Dillon S. Myer will review Alexander H. Leighton's *The Governing of Men;* Henry Reed will survey recent books on housing and city planning; and Henry W. Ehrmann will assess the new books on Germany.

Contributors

CHRISTOPHER LEWIS is the pseudonym of a writer who has had exceptional opportunities to study the operations of the OWI.

DILLON S. MYER has been in government service since 1914. Until three years ago, he specialized in agriculture, serving first with the extension services of Indiana and Ohio, and later as Assistant Chief of the Soil Conservation Service. Since June, 1942, he has been Director of the War Relocation Authority.

BART BOK, an associate professor of Astronomy at Harvard University, recently returned from a three-month visit to Mexico as the guest of the Mexican government. He is the author, among other books, of *The Milky Way*, written with Mrs. Bok.

ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS teaches at Smith College. He has published short stories in *Collier's* and the *New Yorker*, and criticism in the *Antioch Review*, *Partisan Review*, the New York *Times* Book Review and other magazines.

RICHARD WATTS JR. recently resigned as editor-in-chief of the Office of War Information in China, where he spent a year.

Stenographic Report of a Debate Between

UPTON SINCLAIR AND GEORGE SOKOLSKY

"IS THE AMERICAN FORM OF CAPITALISM ESSENTIAL TO THE AMERICAN FORM OF DEMOCRACY?"

The subject of this debate is of interest to all persons who want to understand the position of capitalism in a democratic order. Mr. Sokolsky supports Capitalism, while Upton Sinclair is against that system. This debate included a long questions and answers period, in which each debater hurled questions at the other. The points brought out are of great value, especially in these days when the assumptions of capitalism are being questioned in so many sections of the world and democracy is being knifed by reactionary forces that want the world to be run along totalitarian lines. Copies of this enthralling and thought-provoking debate are ready for immediate delivery. Ask for "IS THE AMERICAN FORM OF CAPITALISM ESSENTIAL TO THE AMERICAN FORM OF DEMOCRACY?" 25¢ per copy; 10 copies for $1.50; 100 copies for $10. Prepaid. Send orders to: E. Haldeman-Julius, Box 475, Girard, Kansas.

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